609 himself to me, offering me some supper with another word which
[576] I had also learned: "Cobicobi."

Then I went into one end of the large house which is
[591] occupied by men only, and there made my quarters. [82]

The Mundurucu whose hammocks hung on that side, and whose nearness might have disturbed me, graciously ceded me the space and moved to the other side.

I wish to emphasize the generous hospitality I received
[574] in Necodemos; it was all the more surprising as it came from barbarians altogether unacquainted with our social customs. Everything was placed at my disposal; nothing was done that might offend or inconvenience me.

Men, old and young, stood in a circle round me. Not
[562 342] a single woman was present -- not even one child of the female sex. Only men were admitted to the large dwelling where I lodged, which was situated in the middle of the village and called ekçâ.

My visit was a festive occasion for the savages; they gazed with astonishment at everything they saw: the spermacetti candle which I lit, the watch, the travelling case, the writing case [carteira]. They scrutinized every object, passing it from hand to hand in the midst of noisy laughter.

This went on until midnight. The Mundurucu greatly enjoyed this diversion; it was to them a unique and quite unexpected event. Finally, I told them that I was tired, and they replied: "Well, then, go to sleep!" Each repaired immediately to his hammock, saying: "See you tomorrow" -- "Cuia dhê."

513 But these barbarians have the custom of blowing a horn
534 all through the night in their quarters or ekçá. It seems to be a sign of watchfulness. Now one, now another who happens to awaken, forsakes his comfort [tira-se de seus cuidados], seizes the horn which always hangs from the roof above his hammock, and blows upon it as long as he pleases. After him another man follows suit. And this monotonous and melancholy music echoes mournfully through the surrounding forest It is strictly a savage pastime. [83]

4: Horton E-4 (no date) 1948

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related to eponymous plants and animals. Sib ancestors are embodied in large ceremonial trumpets called "kaduké," which women are forbidden to see upon pain of lifelong unhappiness. Certain sibs are "related." but the nature of the relationship has not been specified. The sibs are grouped in exogamous moieties: a red moiety of 15 sibs and a white moiety of 19 sibs. A list of the sib names is given by Kruse (1934). In *Mundurucú* tradition these sibs were once warring tribes; their pacification and organization into the present tribal society is attributed to the culture hero.

Polygyny is practiced by men of rank. Younger wives are sometimes solicited voluntarily by the elder wife. Martius reports the levirate. He also states that if a marriageable girl's father dies, and she finds no suitable husband, her mother's brother is obliged to marry her. It is perhaps corroborative evidence of this type of marriage that in the kinship terms given in Strömer's vocabulary, a woman addresses her brother and son-in-law by the same term (tapo).

Patrilocal residence is indicated by Martius' report (1867) that a woman guilty of adultery may be expelled from the house and return to her own family. According to Hartt (1885), each family's section of the communal house is identified by the family's color painted on the post of the partition. No further information about this color symbolism is given.

Each communal house is said to have its house chief and its shaman. Above house chiefs and shamans in rank are war chiefs, chiefs of subtribes (regional groups or moieties?), and a chief shaman. Bates (1892) is the only writer who mentions a paramount tribal chief. Farabee (1917 a) makes an obscure reference to differences in class between war chiefs and "civil" chiefs (house chiefs?). He also states that the sons and daughters of war chiefs intermarry.

MILITARY ORGANIZATION AND WARFARE

The central military institution was the group of warriors living in the men's house. This house and the village were constantly guarded by a patrol whose leader gave signals by means of a trumpet or flute. When a war expedition was being planned, a pledge stick was passed among the warriors by the war chief.[1] A warrior pledged himself to join the expedition by cutting a notch in the stick. When the war party got under way, absolute authority was vested in its leader.

War was generally waged during the summer dry season. Whenever feasible, each warrior was accompanied by his wife or sister, who carried his equipment, prepared food, strung hammocks, aided him if he were wounded, and assisted in the preliminary preparation of trophy heads. The women, according to most authors, took no part in the actual fighting,

[1] [Martius (Source No. 3) says this occurred beforehand, in peace time.—Analyst]

554 and, even among the more acculturated Mundurucú, it is difficult to find out who collects the most rubber. This is
[157] linked with lack of ego assertiveness, an important aspect of the Mundurucú modal personality.

Socio-Political Organization

Tribal integration

619
621 Mundurucú society was integrated on a tribal as well as village level. The foregoing section on the subsistence economy has demonstrated some of the economic bases of local cohesion and a further analysis of village socio-political controls will follow. However, to place the village in proper context it would be well to first outline those factors that unified the various Mundurucú villages.

It should be stated first that no permanent tribal or multi-village political controls existed. Each village was an autonomous political unit. However, warfare, patri-
[59] lineal sibs, and matrilocal residence combined to unite the villages very closely. The self-conscious cultural unity of the Mundurucú was recognized and described by Tocantins who referred to the Mundurucú as a "republic."[9] The Mundurucú felt themselves to be a unit as opposed to the outside world. When speaking of another Mundurucú they said "one of us" or "person" or when referring to themselves as a groups they said "we are many." Everybody else was an "outlander," a category into which were lumped other Indians and white men alike.

9. Tocantins, 1877, p. 85.

344 562 ate, and slept in the men's house. The men's house, outside of the flute chamber, was not rigidly prohibited to women, but very few entered and only on specific business. The dwelling houses were visited frequently by the men for occasional eating, to see their wives, to play with the children, or for a drink of water. However, the axis of the man's life was the men's house and that of the women the dwelling. Boys stayed with their mothers until they had finished being tattooed and were old enough to go to war, events that occurred concurrently at about the age of 17. Male solidarity in work and war was basic to Mundurucú culture, and the men's house was the primary institution in expressing, effecting, and perpetuating this cohesion. The married men of the village, many of whom were native to other villages, were effectively welded into a unit by the men's house. The young bachelors who might someday leave for the villages of future wives would similarly find a familiar matrix in the warrior group of their new village.

342 [illegible] 254 The dwelling house, as has been noted, was the residence of the matrilocal extended family. Each house had one very large hearth and the griddle on which the beiju was made. Cooking was usually done communally. Game was placed on a large babricot and roasted for all the members of the family. If the food was to be boiled, it was put in a large clay pot around which the fire was built. When the 264 men wanted to eat, a man from each extended family went to the house and brought that house's food contribution back

000 the village. The children were reared in a stable group
555 that provided a large degree of emotional and economic security. The Mundurucú were and are devoted parents, and there was great affection between parents and children. However, the sudden death of both parents would have caused no great change in the social and economic life of the child.

Marriage

584 Marriages were sometimes arranged for the children by the parents when the children were still very young. Most of these arrangements were made between brothers and sisters for their children and were within the pattern of intermoiety, cross-cousin marriage. The parents of either the boy or girl could take the initiative. In many cases, a young man who had developed a desire for a girl either asked her father and mother for her directly or used the intermediary of his own parents or older relatives. There was no gift exchange or bride price or service involved. If
585 the match was found suitable by both families, the young man
591 merely moved to the girl's village and took up residence in the men's house there. If he married a girl of his own village, as was often the case, he merely changed his household affiliation. He had socially recognized sexual rights to her and became a part of the economy of her household.
[436] In most cases, the man and woman had entered into sexual relations with each other before the marriage. If the young man had lived in the same village as his wife, the social recognition of the bond caused little change in the life of the couple or their families. The man began to bring

585 his game to the house of his bride and the products of his
591 garden went to the new household. He didn't even have to
586 move his hammock. Marriage was unstable especially in its early years before children were born to the couple. However, separation frequently occurred even between couples with two or three children. In these cases, the man went back to his old village or house affiliation and the children stayed with the mother. The commonest causes of marital breakup were laziness or infidelity on the part of the wife, in which case the husband might simply gather his hammock, weapons, and personal belongings together and leave. The same reasons on the part of the husband might cause the girl's family to turn the husband out of the household. Her relative lack of mobility made it difficult for the female to take the initiative in these cases.

595 Polygamy was not commonly practiced among the Mundurucú and the number of wives in such unions never exceeded two. It was generally confined to the chief of the village since the chief and his sons were exempt from the rules of matrilocality. The sons of the chief remained members of the father's household and their brides were incorporated into it. Usually the second wife was taken at some considerable time after the first marriage and often only when the first wife grew too old to fulfill her economic functions. A situation akin to polygamy often existed when a man took a new wife before taking his leave of the old one. These episodes were usually stormy. There was frequently bitter hostility between the two wives if they shared

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Matrilocality and Patrilineality in Mundurucú Society

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UNILINEAL descent and unilocal residence, by definition, follow one of but two possible lines, the male or the female. Simple arithmetic would therefore dictate that there are four possible combinations of common descent and residence. Only three of the combinations, however, are found to have any frequent and reliable occurrence. Kroeber (1952:213) noted the single lapse in the following observation:

> "Logically the possibility arises of a fourth plan of society: matrilocal but patrilineal . . . I do not know of such a society, and should expect its occurrence to be rare."

This combination is certainly unusual, and ethnographic literature yields practically no descriptions of its unequivocal occurrence. In most cases, the unilocality or unilineality of the group is questionable. For example, Loeb and Broek (1947:418) claim the Karen people of Burma to have patrilineal clans and matrilocal residence. However, the sources which they cite in support of this contention (Marshall 1922; Heine-Geldern 1923) do not warrant such positive affirmations as to the rule of descent. This conclusion with regard to the Karen is verified by Murdock (1954). Residence rules are likewise subject to misinterpretation, for in many cultures matrilocality is frequently a temporary state followed by permanent patrilocality.

In 1952 the writer discovered the co-existence of matrilocality and patrilineality among the Mundurucú Indians of the upper Tapajós River in central Brazil.[1] Existing information on the Mundurucú had led me to believe, before field research, that the group was patrilocal. Subsequent field investigation proved the contrary to be true, and gives us one of our few authenticated accounts of a patrilineal group in which postmarital residence is permanently matrilocal.

The purpose of this paper is to present the pertinent data for the use of students of social organization, to describe how such a system functions, and to discuss its significance in terms of the evolution of social structure. Consideration of the latter problem will be reserved until the conclusions of this paper, for much of the discussion will hinge upon what seems incongruous, nonfunctional, or dysfunctional in Mundurucú society. This material, when analyzed with reference to the limited amount of historical data available, suggests strongly that the Mundurucú shifted from patrilocality to matrilocality in the first half of the nineteenth century. The bearing of such a change upon Murdock's observations (1949:190) on the difficulty of a transition from patrilineal to matrilineal descent becomes immediately apparent when it is considered that much of Murdock's position depends upon his persuasive argument that a patrilineal society can change from patrilocality to matrilocality only with great difficulty. It would seem that this shift in residence patterns is possible under certain conditions which will be analyzed functionally among the Mundurucú. Matrilocality, following Murdock's use of residence as a determinant

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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served to strengthen tribal integration, and at the same time were made possible by it. When a foray was proposed, couriers were sent to several villages to recruit volunteers. The expedition was led by two village chiefs who were reputed as warriors. The force generally set out at the end of one rainy season and returned before the onset of the next. However, some war parties ranged as far as 500 miles from the Mundurucú country and might pass the next rainy season and the following dry season on the war path.

Due to the long periods spent campaigning, intervillage participation in war presented many concrete advantages. By drawing fighting men from several communities, a large force could be put in the field, while taking away only a minority of the men of any one village. More than enough people remained to protect and feed the young and old, and the integrity of Mundurucú territory was maintained. Also, the horticultural cycle was not allowed to lapse, and gardens remained in production to satisfy the demands of subsistence and trade. The hypothesis that warfare is conducive to patrilocal residence (Murdock 1949:207) is not borne out by the Mundurucú.

After the return of a successful war party, the men fortunate enough to have secured trophy heads were responsible for the sponsorship of a ceremony to which people from all Mundurucú villages came and in which they actively participated. However, the trophy head ceremony was secondary to the most important Mundurucú religious festival, the Ceremony of the Game. This rite was held every year, but its locale shifted annually from one host village to another. Participation was on a tribal level, and the ceremony benefited the Mundurucú as a whole.

The most important factor in the multi-community integration of the Mundurucú is the fact that, with patrilineality and permanent matrilocality, place of residence and lineal kinship did not coincide, but cross-cut each other. This will be better understood when the structure of the village is analyzed, but it can be easily seen that the men of any one village will be bound to people of other villages by bonds of family and clan. The result is that the locus of kinship institutions was primarily the tribe, and secondarily the village. The village was integrated mainly by co-residence and economic interdependence. The tribe was integrated principally by kinship. Eggan (1937:84) predicts just such a structure when speculating upon the possibility of matrilocality in Gros Ventre society:

> "The Gros Ventre had patrilineal clans which were exogamous, but unfortunately we do not know whether they were localized. There is some evidence that the household unit of the Gros Ventre was based on matrilocal residence; if this were so, the patrilineal clans must have been nonlocalized segments. Such an organization would tend to increase the tribal integration by uniting the various local groups more firmly, since the scattered clansmen could maintain their relationships more easily."

UNILINEAL INSTITUTIONS

Descent among the Mundurucú was patrilineal in nearly all respects. Clan membership, chieftainship, shamanistic power, and given names were inherited through the father. Property was not inherited for the simple reason

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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The division between the male and female spheres of life was symbolized in the complex of beliefs and attitudes connected with the sacred trumpets. The three trumpets were kept in a carefully enclosed chamber adjoining the men's house, and access to the chamber could only be gained by traversing the sleeping quarters. Women were allowed to enter the men's house if they had a good reason, but the trumpet chamber was absolutely forbidden to them. Any woman who spied on the sacred trumpets was immediately punished by gang rape by the males of the village. The women, say the Mundurucú, once owned and played the trumpets and dominated the males. The men did all of the menial chores that the women do now. However, a culture hero stole the trumpets from the women, and their roles were reversed. Since that time the trumpets have been carefully guarded from them, and when new trumpets were made and installed in the men's house or when they were transferred from an old house to a newly built one, the women shut themselves inside their houses and bewailed the loss of the power-giving instruments.[6]

In order to keep the resident spirits happy, the men had to play the trumpets frequently. Three of the village men would play the instruments inside the chamber, and were occasionally relieved by others. At least once a year the trumpets were played all afternoon and night, accompanied by a general village feast. Another small ritual necessary to preserve the benevolent and protective attitude of the trumpet spirits towards the village was the custom of "feeding" the trumpets. Before partaking of any food served in the men's house, a man always entered the trumpet chamber, laid the three trumpets upon the ground and offered a half gourd of food at their mouths, saying "Here is your food. Eat. Make me lucky in the hunt."

The feeding and playing of the trumpets was the only Mundurucú ritual which did not involve the participation of people from other villages. A visitor from another village, however, could play the trumpets if he wished. Also, although the trumpets were clan property, moiety and clan membership did not disqualify a man from feeding or playing them. Any adult who knew how to play the instruments could do so. In view of the completely nonlocal nature of the clans, it seems incongruous that the clans owned the village trumpets. For instance, trumpets of the modern village of Cabruá belonged to the *Waro* clan, which had no members in residence in the village. According to informants, the village trumpets received the clan affiliation of the man who made them. As we will see in the following historical reconstruction, this and many other rather paradoxical facts about Mundurucú culture might have a functional-historical explanation.

PATRILOCALITY TO MATRILOCALITY

I propose to present in this section a reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú social structure which will perhaps be both "conjectural" and "structural" to employ Radcliffe-Brown's (1952:49) categories of methods of analysis, but which will attempt to follow Eggan's recommendation (1954:755) to see "social structures and culture patterns over time." It has been shown that mid-nineteenth century Mundurucú society was as viable as most social sys-

6: Murphy E-S (1952-1953)1956
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terms, despite combining matrilocality and patrilineality. Contemporary informants claim matrilocality to be the normal rule since ancient times, but historical data suggestive of antecedent patrilocality among the Munduruú comes from the German explorers Spix and Martius, who encountered elements of the tribe near the lower Madeira River in 1819. The reader should be warned that these observers are not completely reliable, and several obvious errors were encountered in their works. We can only verify their information by comparing it with what is reliably known of the structure of Munduruú society.

According to Martius (1867:393), the Munduruú were apparently patrilocal, for a man could eject his wife from the household. Every young man, however, had to go through a period of bride service lasting several years (ibid.:392). The same writer claimed that when there was no other potential husband available for a young woman, the mother's brother could marry her (ibid.:393). This is of some significance, not only because it gives historical confirmation for the previous analysis from kinship terminology (and Martius was not aware of the "sociological" interpretation of kin terms), but also because it tends to bolster the hypothesis of antecedent patrilocality. The practice of avunculate marriage is quite widespread in the Amazon basin and in northeastern South America and the Islands (Lowie 1949:317). In all cases, it is correlated with a period of bride service followed by permanent patrilocality. Both Kirchoff (1932:58) and Metraux (1946:111-12) state that avunculate marriage serves to liberate men from the period of temporary matrilocal residence. Whether or not avunculate marriage had this function among the Munduruú is not known, but its wide distribution in the Tropical Forest region in combination with initial bride service and patrilocality argues for its former existence among the Munduruú where, according to Martius, the same pattern was in existence.

The reader will remember that contemporary Munduruú informants specifically and vehemently deny the contemporary or past practice of avunculate marriage, and this form of marriage was not reflected in genealogies. This is understandable in the matrilocal framework because, although the mother's brother was a member of the opposite moiety to that of his sister's daughter, he was nonetheless a member of the same household until his marriage. In a patrilocal society, the sister's daughter would not reside in the same household and might not even be a resident of her uncle's village. The disappearance of avunculate marriage due to a change from patrilocality to matrilocality would be consistent with much anthropological theorization on the origins of incest prohibitions, whether explained as a result of the necessity to deny sexual access to one's familial intimates, which would disrupt the household (Malinowski 1930:a30), or as a result of the need to marry out of the ingroup in order to extend its ties with the larger society (White 1948:422). Titiev (1943:316) has noted the importance of residence in the definition of incest in other cultures:

> "... there are numerous cases in which exogamy is enforced among co-residents even when there is no demonstrable or putative genealogical connection."

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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Contemporary students of social organization tend to accept the hypothesis of unilocal residence as the basis of unilineality, and there will perhaps not be much argument as to the priority of patrilocality among the Mundurucú. The dynamics and stages of the process are, however, an open question. Two dysfunctional or incongruous elements have been noted in the foregoing description of Mundurucú patrilineality and matrilocality. One of these is the patrilocality of the chief's sons. This can be explained quite simply as an accommodation of patrilineal inheritance to matrilocal pressure. However, a dysfunctional factor was thereby introduced, for the chief was able to build up a strong lineage-household in villages where such units were no longer possible for the balance of the population. Authority patterns might have become stronger and more centralized due to the new arrangement, but such controls were not essential to this simple, collectivized society.

The other incongruity in Mundurucú social structure was the clan ownership of the sacred trumpets. These cult objects functioned to reinforce the structure of the village and not of the clan or the tribe. The trumpet complex was part of village ritual and involved only village participation, despite the fact that spirits pertaining to the clan were appeased. However, the Mundurucú clan was completely nonlocalized under the conditions of matrilocality, and the clan-village equivalence suggested by the trumpet complex was therefore impossible. Certainly, contemporary informants were able to give no adequate rationalization of the connection between clans and trumpets. On the basis of these structural considerations I would hypothesize that the trumpet complex arose in the period of "the unilocal patrilineal lineage," following Tax's (1963:526-28) second stage of development of the patrilineal clan. With localized clans, village and clan are the same unit (except for the wives of the clan members), and the sacred trumpets and their spirits would form part of a well integrated ancestor cult. Such a social structure, far from being completely hypothetical, is typical of the Northwest Amazon (Whitten 1972), to choose an example from another part of the South American rain forest. The Mundurucú trumpets no longer functioned in this way, and the spirits which resided in the instruments were only incidentally considered ancestral to a certain clan. They actually served to protect and aid the village in which they were located.

On the basis of the above data and interpretations, a tentative reconstruction of Mundurucú social history will be attempted in the following paragraphs.

The earliest stage of Mundurucú evolution for which we have any significant evidence is that of the patrilocal, single-clan (or patrilineage) village or band. Each clan-village possessed sacred trumpets which embodied the ancestral spirits and were the property of the group. The pattern of referring to the clan as a 'people of the river' may have stemmed from the local nature of the early clan-residence unit.

In the normal process of population expansion, perhaps aided by the introduction of horticulture and the taking of captives, the Mundurucú localized clan might have become subdivided due to the limit of population concentra-

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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tion imposed by environmental factors. The result would be a new pattern of single lineage villages which formed parts of nonlocalized clans. During the passage of time and with further population increase, these local lineages became differentiated as subclans and finally as clans having only a phratric affiliation with the parent clan. This budding process and the creation of new clans is reflected by the sharing of trumpet spirit 'companions', surmising that the offspring clans kept the trumpet 'companion' of the parent group.

If the clan-community was the immediate precontact and permatrilocal stage of Munduruc society—the one observed by Martius—then the men's house was already an established institution among the Munduruc. It may have been different, however, from the men's house of the later nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, for Martius (1867:113) describes it as being inhabited only by young warriors and newly-wed men. Assuming, as seems logical, that the young warriors referred to were unmarried village men and the bridegrooms were men in the period of bride service, the moiety division of the men's house must already have been in existence, since the clan-community is by definition exogamous. Murdock suggests (1954) that the Munduruc moiety system must have considerable antiquity due to the existence of moieties in neighboring clanless groups. The practices of cross-cousin and sister's daughter marriage certainly provide the underlying structure of Munduruc moieties.

It is possible, although there are no supporting data, that population expansion and the resultant fission of clans had resulted in the joining of several splinter groups into multilineal communities in the period previous to contact with the whites. While admitting the possibility, this stage is unnecessary to the present reconstruction, and it will be assumed that the clan-community persisted until matrilocal influences caused its disappearance and its replacement by the type of social structure already described for the Munduruc of the mid-nineteenth century.

During the early nineteenth century, the Munduruc made the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality, due probably to economic pressures which increased the importance of maintaining the integrity and continuity of the female, household work-group.[4] This influence was probably brought about by the growing trade with Brazilians in manioc flour and a consequent increase in agricultural production.

The shift to matrilocality was probably accomplished with little serious stress. The groom simply remained in the men's house of his bride's village and the practice of eventually moving to the house of the husband's family disappeared. During the course of the shift in residence patterns, certain fundamental changes in Munduruc social organization appeared. Granting the accuracy of Martius' statement that the men's house was inhabited only by young warriors and newly-weds, those men who remained permanently matrilocal continued the aboriginal pattern of residence in the men's house during the bride service period and remained there throughout life or at least for the duration of the marriage. Also, since the shift from patrilocality to matrilocality must have taken place over a period of time and did not affect all men simultaneously, the village came to be inhabited by men of both moieties and several clans. The result is

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several clans. The result is the highly mixed membership still observable today.

The female manioc producing group became permanent and was able to incorporate and keep the girls of the household. The ownership of land did not inhibit this process, as might be expected, for forest lands were not owned under conditions of shifting agriculture. An interesting development which probably took place soon after the formation of these households of related females was that children, in the event of divorce, most often remained with the mother.

Chiefs gained importance through the trade, as they served as middlemen for the village (Bates 1863:243–244). Their added prestige enabled them to keep their sons and thereby to gain daughters-in-law for work in the gardens and in the preparation of manioc flour. It thus helped to perpetuate the patrilineal inheritance of office. In common with other groups in eastern South America, perhaps the sons of chiefs never had to submit to bride service (Lowie 1949:315). In this case, the perpetuation of patrilocality in the chief's line would have been simplified. On the basis of our knowledge of the contemporary Mundurucú, however, it would not be overspeculative to surmise that the patrilocal prerogative of the chief's lineage was a point of conflict.

Finally, whatever degree of military effectiveness the Mundurucú sacrificed by the breakup of the male residence-kinship group was more than compensated for by the heightened tribal integration obtained.

PATRILINEALITY TO MATRILINEALITY?

The change in residence pattern which may be deduced from our knowledge of past and present Mundurucú social organization is of special significance in view of the long debate as to the priority of the matrilineate. Murdock, as has been noted, states that a "direct" transition from the patrilineate to the matrilineate is not to be expected. The basis for this position lies in his belief that in "a typical patrilineal and patrilocal community . . . the obstacles to patrilocal residence, in sum, are well-nigh insuperable" (Murdock 1949: 216–17). A functional analysis of Mundurucú social structure reveals, however, that the obstacles to such a transition were surmounted. Let us review how the inhibitions on matrilocality cited by Murdock were and are handled by the Mundurucú.

First, it is not too difficult to learn a new hunting territory, especially in a uniform environment and using group techniques. Even Mundurucú men on short visits to other villages joined their hosts in the hunt, frequently with great success. Second, although the Mundurucú practiced polygyny, monogamy was the common form of marriage. Martius (1867:393) indicated polygyny to have been confined to persons of power and status during the patrilocal period. This is not at all inconsistent with the later limitation of this custom to the chiefs, and very little actual change in patterns of polygyny probably took place. Third, the transition might have been extremely difficult had there been patrilineal ownership of land, houses, or immovable chattels. There was, however, no such ownership in either line and all male personal possessions were destroyed or buried with the body upon death. The personal

6: Murphy E-5 (1952-1953)1956
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adjustment of the male to a new village was and is not difficult. He was not integrated into a new household but into a men's house in which he would find fellow lan and moiety members from his own and other villages.

Matrilocality, once achieved, sets the residential basis for matrilineality. Murdock (ibid:218) admits the possibility of change from patrilineality to matrilineality only with an intervening stage of bilaterality, but then says (ibid:212) tat such a stage is also "probable" in the transition from matrilineality to atrilineality. It seems obvious that all aspects of descent will not reverse at oce. Thus, if the pressures that produced matrilocality eventuated in matrilinality, it would be academic to debate whether or not it was a "direct transition," despite an intervening period of bilaterality. The question would merely be which mode of change can be accomplished most rapidly and with least stress. I have previously pointed to the ownership of the child by the wife's family and the taboo on avuncular marriage as matrilineal features in Mundurucú society which probably evolved shortly after the change to matrilocality. Whether or not the Mundurucú would have become matrilineal but for the inroads of the rubber trade, I leave as an open question. It is clear that matrilineal influences from other groups might easily have caused such a change and it is also apparent that the patrilineal clans underwent a change an no doubt a diminution of function due to loss of their local nuclei. By te same token, patrilineality as a mode of reckoning kinship was weakened by loss of its residential basis.

If the Mundurucú were indeed transitional, the very rarity of the case argues in favor of Murdock's hypothesis, especially since he "makes no assumptions about ultimate origins or overall priorities among the several types of social structure" (ibid:219). If, however, assumptions of priorities are taken into consideration, the Mundurucú fit into a developmental framework which can be traced in terms of more clearly deducible priorities of cultural evolution. This continuum would range from the patrilineal hunting band (Steward [illegible] through the emergence of the localized clan from such bands (Goldschmidt 1948; Steward 1937) to, perhaps, the nonlocalized patrilineal clan (Titiev 1943). Although there is no proof that the Mundurucú went through the latter tage, it may have occurred as a consequence of population increase due to early horticulture. With intensified horticulture, as among the Mundurucú, matrilocal pressures and eventual matrilineality would result. This evolutionary scheme is a model and not an invariant sequence, for local historical and ecological situations influence particular culture continua, as is evidenced by Mudurucú history. The latter variables operate as codeterminants with the factors introduced by the evolution of technology and economy to produce sequences which are multilinear in nature. The very pluralism of the causal process renders any over-all generalizations on the evolution of social structure statements of probability. The Mundurucú example by itself cannot show what is probable, but it does indicate the possible. A change from patrilocality to matrilocality probably occurred in this typical patrilineal, patrilocal society, and a further transition to the matrilineate was therefore possible. More field work, especially in South America, and re-examination of the existing sources with this hypothesis in mind might well uncover additional examples.

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tional subsistence activities, it placed severe inhibitions upon the extensive sorties formerly customary.

Warfare did not end until about 1912, over a century after the Mundurucú had made peace with the whites. During this time certain internal modifications had occurred in the social structure, but social cohesion had remained intact and the boundaries of the society were still sharply defined and vigorously maintained. Although members were lost to Brazilian society, a hard core of population living near the upper Tapajós River made war upon other Indian groups with energy and success. This was not "aboriginal" warfare; it was frequently waged on behalf of the whites and with firearms supplied by them. But the only information on Mundurucú warfare of any value pertains to the 19th century and was derived from older informants and published sources. This, then, is the proper time dimension of our study, and we turn now to a consideration of the relevant aspects of Mundurucú culture during this period.

The Mundurucú villages were located in the midst of grass-covered savannahs surrounded by dense forest, but their subsistence economy was essentially the same as other groups of the Amazon rain forest. Hunting was important throughout the year, and fishing was primarily a dry season activity. Garden crops included the usual range of Tropical Forest vegetables and fruits, and bitter manioc was the staple product. Manioc flour, known as *farinha* in Brazil, was also traded to the whites by the Mundurucú and constituted their most important commercial commodity in the period prior to the rubber boom.

The division of labor and the organization of work reflected certain basic aspects of Mundurucú social structure. The men hunted and fished and carried out the strenuous task of garden clearing, while the women did the rest of the horticultural work and tended the households. Residence was matrilocal, and the females of each house formed a nucleus of matrilineally related kinswomen; each such household was also a communal work and consumption unit. Each Mundurucú village had about three to five such houses and a men's house; the latter was the locus of male activity, for all the village men slept, ate, worked, and relaxed within its confines.

The membership of the men's house was eclectic in relation to descent. The Mundurucú were divided into more than forty patrilineal clans, linked by loose and unnamed phratric affiliations, and parcelled almost equally between patrilineal, exogamous moieties. But the matrilocal residence rule and the resultant shift of men from their natal households and, commonly, villages continually blocked the formation of co-resident descent groups.

Despite the diversity of their local and lineal origins, the men of a village, and ultimately of the whole tribe, were expected to maintain harmonious and cooperative relations. Cooperation in economic activities transcended the minimal necessities of their ecological adaptation, and any open show of aggression between men was strictly prohibited. The men's house provided the organizational framework within which this unity was expressed, while male

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within the structure of the society. We must explain the function of warfare, or the social conditions that caused the Mundurucú to direct enormous hostility against an amorphously inimical outside world.

As a first step toward answering this question, we turn briefly to a reexamination of Mundurucú military organization. Leaving out of consideration for the moment the bellicosity of the Mundurucú, the single factor that contributed most to the success of their arms was the tribal organization of war parties. The recruitment of men from a number of communities aggrandized their expeditions while leaving unimpaired the economic and defensive functions of the villages. Tribalism was also central to the ceremonies that were held at the conclusion of a war. On these occasions the tribal warrior society, or Darekšı, gathered to celebrate the prowess of Mundurucú arms, and the widely scattered members of certain clans assembled to exercise their prerogative of attaching particular decorations to the trophy heads.

Intercommunity cooperation in warfare was facilitated by the peculiar juxtaposition of matrilocal residence and patrilineal descent. The male Mundurucú population was thereby linked by cross-cutting ties of residential affinity and affiliation by descent. For example, any Mundurucú man was a member of his own village, in most cases a native of another village, and in several instances a former resident of the village of a divorced wife; he was also linked by ties of patrilineal descent to all the villages in which members of his clan resided. On the other hand, he was not involved in any cohesive and localized lineage unit. The kinship structure imposed no boundaries upon the local group; the male social world was the tribe.

The manner in which bonds were extended throughout the tribe necessitated certain social adjustments. The residence rule destroyed the residential basis of patrilineality and thereby weakened clanship. Correspondingly, the only enduring group of coresident, consanguineal kinsmen was the extended family of women related in the female line. Such aggregates of females posed a threat to the superordinate position of the men which was enabled through several means, one of the most important of which was residence in the men's house. This unit freed the male from the necessity of becoming integrated into the economy and authority structure of his wife's household in villages in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. Although he owed respect and some service to his father-in-law, the locus of his social and economic life was the men's house; this provided the framework within which a group of men from diverse villages was welded into a highly unitary working and fighting unit. Their position as a militant and self-conscious social entity, demarcated from and superior to the women, was reinforced by the cult of the sacred musical instruments. Thus male solidarity was promoted on a tribal level through the dispersal of patrilineal kinsmen, and on the village level through the men's house.

The organization of 19th-century Mundurucú society made male solidarity on the village and tribal level not only possible but a functional necessity. Conflict had to be rigorously suppressed, for if men became arrayed in overt

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621 violence along lines of residential affinity, it would pit patrilineal kin against
578 each other and destroy the very fabric of the kinship structure. And if the
182 combatants aligned themselves according to kinship affiliations, strife could break out within villages and even within households. The Mundurucú situation is opposite that found in some segmentary societies, in which, following Fortes' (1945:240–4) analysis, strife between kinship-territorial units of similar scope is actually productive of social equilibrium.

562 The necessity for suppressing overt conflict as the only alternative to
577 serious disruptions of social relations was complemented by the necessity for
578 male cohesion and unity in villages whose hereditary inhabitants were the women. As a result, Mundurucú ethical values enjoined absolute harmony and cooperation upon all the males of the tribe. No such feeling was expected in interfemale relations. The female ingroup was limited to the membership of one or two extended families; beyond these limits, open jealousy and fighting could and did occur. This dichotomy in ethical values is understandable when one considers how different were the male and female social contexts.

578 Interpersonal and intergroup grievances will arise in all human societies
622 as a necessary concomitant of social life, and the Mundurucú are no exception to this rule. Despite the surface tranquility of interpersonal relations among the males, numerous causes of latent antagonism existed. One potentially disruptive factor of especial significance to the problem at hand was that [591] patrilineal succession to the chieftaincy was assured by exempting the chief's sons from the matrilocal rule. The extended family of the chief thus became the largest and most cohesive such unit in the village, for it retained sons while gathering sons-in-law. The presence of his own patrilineal kinsmen reinforced the chief's position, but it also resulted in antagonism and resentment on the part of the other men of the village, over whom he exerted no lineage-based authority. Evidence to support this statement can be found in contemporary Mundurucú society in a number of cases of sorcery accusation and punishment. In one village the chief and his son were both slain as suspected witches. In another, the family of the chief wished to execute an accused sorcerer against the will of the other residents, and in a third village the family of the chief protected one of their number against the intention of the other villagers to execute him. No evidence of such tensions would have been manifest to the casual observer in any of the three villages; the disaffected parties usually maintain cordial and cooperative relations with their antagonists both before and after the climax of the train of events, but they generally move from the village as soon as convenient. These conflicts, then, are instrumental in furthering the fragmentation of villages under the current condition of pacification.

182 Given the potentially centrifugal nature of leadership, descent, and resi-
721 dence, warfare functioned to preserve, or at least prolong, the cohesiveness of Mundurucú society. The chief was able to maintain his leadership over his
622 lineally eclectic group of followers through his position as war leader and his complementary role as mediator between them and Brazilian society. To the

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Mundurucú these are the essential functions of chieftainship, and contemporary informants commonly ascribe the decline of nucleated-village life to the disappearance of such attributes of leadership.

Of even greater importance to the integration of Mundurucú society, warfare activated and intensified male unity and values, both of which functioned to make matrilocality viable. Finally, the only permissible intrasocietal mechanism for the release of aggression was sorcery and the killing of sorcerers, and the previously cited cases indicate that they created as many tensions as they resolved. Actually, the only way in which hostility could be unleashed without damage to the society was against the outside world. Paradoxically for a people who considered all the world as an enemy, the true cause of enmity came from within their own society.

Much of the preceding argument has hinged upon the matrilocal and patrilineal character of Mundurucú society. In a recent article I showed that Mundurucú social structure in the 19th century could only be understood as a result of post-contact change and that the aboriginal society was organized on patrilocal and patrilineal lines (Murphy 1956). The fact that the Mundurucú were vigorous warriors before their shift to matrilocality suggests that warfare acquired new functions subsequent to that change and consequent upon it. These new functions, as they have been outlined in this paper, provide us with an understanding of how Mundurucú society remained cohesive and maintained its boundaries through more than a century of contact with the whites.

We will now broaden our analysis of the function of warfare within Mundurucú society to the closely related problem of its function within the structure of Mundurucú-Brazilian relationships. The two bases of this symbiosis were trade and war. Matrilocality evolved as a result of trade relations with the whites, but it was workable in a patrilineal society only when intrasocietal hostilities were repressed and latent antagonisms channeled into intensive warfare. Warfare and the connected ceremonies also helped to perpetuate the system of clanship in this newly-evolved type of society, for they constituted almost the only occasions upon which corporate functions of the fragmented descent groups were exercised. Conversely, matrilocality and patrilineality provided the structure for warfare on a tribal scale and thus enabled the Mundurucú successfully to pursue hostilities against comparatively undisrupted tribes during a period when their own numbers were being reduced through disease and emigration to Brazilian settlements. And by frequently undertaking raids in the service of the whites, the Mundurucú had solidified their peaceful relationship with the technologically and numerically superior society. The Brazilians were willing to respect the autonomy of the Mundurucú as long as it was useful to them. We may conclude that the system of of matrilocality and patrilineality and the institution of warfare were mutually reinforcing and served to maintain Mundurucú society during a period that witnessed the disappearance or dissolution of many of their neighbors.

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Coser (1956:156–7) has considered the relationship between conflict and the rigidity of the social structure, which he defines as "the degree to which it disallows direct expression of antagonistic claims," and concludes:

> Our hypothesis, that the need for safety-valve institutions increases with the rigidity of the social system, may be extended to suggest that unrealistic [i.e. cathartic and not oriented toward the frustrating object] conflict may be expected to occur as a consequence of rigidity present in the social structure.

Mundurucú warfare was clearly "unrealistic" and the social structure was rigid in Coser's sense. It is possible to broaden our example to include a larger category of rigid social structures and to consider their functional concomitants. I would propose as a statistically testable hypothesis that matrilocal societies must repress open aggression in order to insure cohesion and continuity. If we take any matrilocal and matrilineal or bilateral society as our model, the system of residence tends to disperse males at least throughout the local community. Thus, any male will have close ties of kinship and economic interdependence with his housemates, his natal household, the households of his maternal uncles, and the households of his brothers. The same is true of patrilocal societies from the viewpoint of the women but males are the principal political role-players in all human societies. Any conflict involving men therefore becomes a matter of deep community concern. As among the Mundurucú, if the lines of allegiance in a conflict situation are drawn according to kinship in any matrilocal society, bonds of local contiguity will be sundered; if primary loyalty is given to bonds of residence, the ties of kinship will be broken. In short, when the residence and kin groups of the male do not coincide, he acquires multiple commitments that may come into conflict. Also, the individual male will more readily repress his grievances if he cannot rely upon the full support of a solidary group.

Brief reference to the ethnographic literature suggests that the social solidarity of matrilocal groups is not restricted to my model. Writing of the Apinayé, Nimuendajú (1939:129) says:

> I have never heard of a case of rape nor witnessed ... anything of publicly scandalous adultery, larceny, or slander. Only when intoxicated do ... natives inflict damage on property and bodily maltreatment on persons or commit ...

with any Šerente settlement the village of Bacaba, at least, is a model of internal peace and harmony, and this would hold for Gato Preto, too, in the absence of alcohol.

The Šerente and the Apinayé are Gê-speaking groups of eastern Brasil and are culturally quite similar. The principal difference between them is that the fractious Šerente are patrilineal and patrilocal, while the harmonious Apinayé are matrilineal and matrilocal. Turning to North America, we have the classical example of the matrilocal and "Apollonian" Pueblo-ans. Ellis (1951:190) has noted of Pueblo warfare:

> Beyond protection, warfare served to provide legitimate outlet for the frustrations and aggressions arising from unpermitted competition or suspicions thereof among peoples of the same general culture.

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614 myth on clan origins exists among the contemporary Mun-
713 durucú. Informants merely stated that the tribe was once homogeneous, but the culture hero Karusakaíbö divided the group into clans and assigned the eponyms. This be-
[114] lief contrasts with that reported by Kruse, according to which the Mundurucú were once independent and mutually hostile tribes that were welded into a social entity by Karusakaíbö through the expedient of converting each tribe into a clan.[8] The latter account and the previously
614 mentioned lack of a clear-cut concept of descent from the eponym are instructive when seen in the light of the term for clan. This word, *diwet*, means literally "dwellers of the river" (*di* = river, *wet* = dwellers). Thus, the clan name *Paruwadiwet* can be translated as "Dwellers of the River of the Yellow Macaw." This suggests that the clans were originally localized entities, rather than the present highly dispersed groupings. If this is true, it would
614 contrast strikingly with contemporary clanship, for the
• 591 Mundurucú are—and this is important—predominantly matrilocal. Under the latter residence rule, young men affiliate with the villages and households of their brides; fathers, sons, and brothers are thereby separated, and clan membership, given the patrilineal mode of descent, becomes scattered throughout the tribe. An earlier phase of lineage and clan localization would imply patriloculity, and we are here presented with the possibility that the Mundurucú underwent a basic change in rule of residence. There is more evidence for this than the conjecture raised by the term for clan, and the argument will be pursued in the following discussion of the ritual prerogatives of clanship.

614 Each savannah village has a men's house, which is the
[345] dormitory and club house for all post-pubescent males.

[8] Kruse, 1934, pp. 56–57.

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614 534 778 the village. And the spirits in the trumpets, which have to be placated by playing the instruments and presenting them with ritual offerings of food, are considered to offer protection and aid to the village, and not to the clan. Despite the *de jure* rights of the clan over the karökö, *de facto* rights are vested in the village. This anomaly could only be resolved if the clan were either localized or had local nuclei. This would be possible only under a patrilocal rule of residence, which would allow the men, who are the perpetuators and transmitters of clan membership, to remain in the paternal home after marriage.

614 [591] Clan ownership of the karökö and the localization implicit in the word for clan both suggest that the matrilocal rule of residence is not very old and was preceded by patrilocality. Further evidence for this conclusion may be found in the complex linkages on which the phratries are based. The data on these ties are admittedly inaccurate and incomplete. Despite this disadvantage, it is patent that there is a correlation between the spirit "companions of the trumpets" and phratry. Many clans have several "companion" spirits, and some of these spirits are shared by more than one clan. Thus, the *Witum*, *Wakú*, and *Karú* clans of the Red moiety share a "companion" spirit called *uerémop*, and, correspondingly, the members of each of the three clans refer to those of the other two as *uchaim*, or "of our group." This example suffices to illustrate the principle on which phratries are formed, although this phratry is one of the least complex. A somewhat more intricate phratry consists of the *Karú* subclan, *Kabá*, *Arú*, *Yurí*, and *Ilí* clans of the Red moiety. *Yurí* and *Ilí* are linked by common recognition of *apat*, the crocodile, as spirit "companion of the trumpets"; *Karú* subclan and *Arú* are affiliated through common recognition of the yarökpökpökpöka, a bird; *Kabá* and *Arú* are affiliated through

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614 then it may be surmised that Mundurucú clans have un-
174 dergone a basic process of segmentation. That such a
615 process continued into recent centuries is indicated by the incomplete differentiation of these four clans. If it can be supposed that the four subclans would in time become increasingly independent of the parent group and would eventually assume their own names and tubö while maintaining a more nebulous bond through the common "companion" spirits, the end result would be a phratric alliance. There is no definitive proof for this hypothesis, but such a process is the only unitary explanation of the phenomena of phratries and subclans. The data given by informants on the relation between clans, phratries, and the spirit "companions of the trumpets" are irregular. Certain clans that should logically be linked by common spirits were said by informants to be unaffiliated; others were placed within the same phratry where no grounds for such linkage exist. This unevenness is reminiscent of the problems encountered by students of Pueblo clan and phratry organization. Depopulation and the weakening of broader kin groupings have obscured the intricacies of the system, making reconstruction most difficult. But the Mundurucú data do show a pronounced tendency toward consistency between phratric affiliation and shared "companion" spirits.

The creation of new clans by the internal segmentation
121 of old ones has numerous parallels in other societies. Pat-
591 rilineal clans frequently segment under conditions of an
614 expanding population, which causes lineages to break off
174 and establish themselves in new territory in search of adequate resources. The offshoot group in time becomes differentiated from the parent unit and may establish itself as a new clan, although maintaining some symbolic representation of its former connection. Such a budding proc-

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ess, however, is possible only if the patrilineal society is also patrilocal, because it assumes a localized group of related males who are subjected to a common pressure to seek fresh sources of subsistence, and who can move as a unit. Under a matrilocal residence rule, the budding of lineages from a parent clan is more difficult, because the male members of the matrilineage, who are after all the principal actors in authority and decision making, have no residential locus. This accords with George P. Murdock's observations on the relatively greater ease of fission of localized patrilineal clans;[6] it is also congruent with W. Robertson Smith's generalization that patrilineality (and patrilocality) are better adapted to the needs of an expanding society than matrilineality (and matrilocality).[7]

The structure of Mundurucú clanship points clearly to an antecedent rule of patrilocality. The view of Murdock,[8] Steward,[9] and Titiev,[10] among others, that a unilineal system of descent is based upon and grows out of a corresponding unilocal mode of residence would make this an attractive hypothesis even without the evidence that has been presented. Historical confirmation of the thesis is found in the writings of Martius. He reported that bridegrooms were obliged to spend several years in service to the father-in-law.[11] At the end of this period they probably returned to their natal dwellings, for Martius noted that a man could eject his wife if displeased with her.[12]

The time of the change from patrilocality with temporary matrilocality to permanent matrilocality is uncer-

[6] Murdock, 1949, pp. 214-215.
[7] Smith, 1903, p. 269.
[8] Murdock, 1949, p. 208.
[9] Steward, 1936, pp. 343-344.
[10] Titiev, 1943.
[11] Martius, 1867, p. 393.
[12] Ibid., p. 393.

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174 591 614 tain, but it probably took place during the mid-nineteenth century. Matrilocality was the only mode of residence that even the oldest Mundurucú could remember and they had no traditional memory of previous patrilocality. Also, Tocantins reported that, in 1875, quarrels between men were resolved by the departure of one of the parties from the village,[13] suggesting the absence of a local lineage and the high male mobility characteristic of Mundurucú matrilocality.

174 439 178 591 614 The reasons for the shift in post-marital residence rule are far less certain, and no final conclusions can be arrived at on the basis of available data. Certain known changes in productive relations, however, yield inference to the possible processes at work. It will be remembered that before their deep involvement in rubber production, the Mundurucú traded extensively in farinha or manioc flour. This must have caused a substantial increase in the amount of land under cultivation and a great expansion of production of bitter manioc.[14] The roles of the male and female did not undergo any important shift. Men cleared the forest land for gardens, as they do today, and the women cared for the crops, harvested them, and manufactured the farinha. Women thus became of greater economic importance, because of the increase in the amount

[13] Tocantins, 1877, p. 111.

[14] The extent of this early trade in manioc flour may be inferred from Martius's account (1867, p. 305 n.): "This tribe is more industrious than any other. It is calculated that the inhabitants of the settlements on the Topajós prepare 6000 packs [3.12 litres each] of manioc flour annually, those of the Maubé 1500 and those of the Canumá 800, which, for the most part is exported to Santarem and neighboring locales. They readily give abundantly therefrom to the priests as a gift. In the year 1819 the Mundrucús of the Canumá collected and brought to market 900 arrobas [32 pounds each] of cinnamon clove and an equal amount of sarsaparilla. Through such a disposition to homely diligence, the speedy settlement of all the Mundrucús among the whites is to be expected."

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of work performed and the added importance of the co-operative labor involved in farinha manufacture. This process, as has been described, calls for a division of tasks and a degree of organization among the women of a household. The latter, under the patrilocal rule, consisted of the wives of the lineage members, a group of women of diverse residential origins having no preëstablished ties of mutual accommodation and coöperation. The altered social system resulting from matrilocality, however, maintained the household group of sisters and their daughters and provided for the continuity of a female work group bonded by ties of kinship and within which the members were reared. The new-type household was thus better suited to its intensified role as a productive unit.[10]

To review the reconstruction of changes in Mundurucú clanship, reference to a period well before the contact of the tribe with the whites is necessary. It was hypothesized that the Mundurucú were at that time patrilineal and patrilocal and were undergoing population expansion. The clans may have been completely localized; they surely had large local nuclei. The pressure of growing population on resources resulted in the budding off of lineages from these local groups; these lineages became subclans and ultimately independent clans maintaining a phratric affiliation with the parent unit. The colonization of the Amazon Valley and the subsequent establishment of trade with the whites, in which farinha was exchanged for manufactured articles, may have so enhanced the importance of female

[10] Adam Smith, in 1781, wrote that the Black consigned agricultural despite the transfer of the major horticultural chores to the men because it was efficacious that the corn-grinding groups of related females be maintained. This presents a parallel to the hypothesized Mundurucú situation, although the Hopi pose a question of the maintenance of a pattern while the problem here is one of change. From either a causal or a functional viewpoint, however, the two [illegible] support each other.

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dependence from each other that is not conducive to marital stability. The husband may leave with little difficulty, and frequently does. The wife's lack of mobility makes it more difficult for her to break the marriage on her own initiative, but if the groom incurs the displeasure of the father-in-law, he is often told to leave. The divorced man either returns to his native village or wanders in search of another wife.

That the stability of Mundurucú marriages depends primarily upon the growth of affective bonds between the mates and a common interest in their children gives us a certain insight into the workings of the social system. There has recently been some discussion on the relation of marital stability to mode of descent and types of social unit, as revealed by comparative analysis of some selected African societies.* These have shown that marriage tends to be more enduring in patrilineal than in matrilineal groups and that this tendency is even more pronounced when the bride is incorporated into the membership of her husband's kin group. The Mundurucú are interesting just because they do not conform typologically to the African examples. Despite formal patrilineality, marriage is matrilocal and the man is thrust into affiliation with a cohesive unit of related kinswomen. His wife's primary loyalties are to her household; the husband's remain with the relatives of his natal household. The husband initially has no deep commitment to the wife's household and is under no strong influence to remain if he experiences difficulties with his wife or her kin. Thus far, the Mundurucú appear to resemble the Hopi, for example, with the important exception that the latter are matrilineal also. In matrilineal-matrilocal societies of the Hopi type, every man maintains continuing rights and duties within his matrilineage, and these ties

* Cf. Gluckman, 1950; Schneider, 1953; Fallers, 1957.

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operate to the detriment of integration within the wife's household. Among the Mundurucú, however, there is no matrilineage (or patrilineage), and a man is bound to his natal household primarily by affect. As his own group of brothers becomes dispersed in matrilocal residence and his parents die, such emotional ties become correspondingly attenuated. From the point of view of social structure, the process by which he is integrated into his new matrix, however loosely, is reinforced by the gradual attrition of bonds of the old; and as part of the same process, his marriage becomes more stable. We see then that Mundurucú matrilocality contributes to the brittleness of marriage in its early phase, but the lack of corporate, bounded lineages leads in time to the strengthening of the connubial tie. Later sections will explore more completely the position of the married couple and the nuclear family within the larger framework of social life.

Adultery is common and a frequent source of strife between mates, but generally results in divorce only when the wife is promiscuous. The men regard their own adulterous escapades as highly amusing incidents, but take a far less lenient view when cuckolded. An offended husband may beat his wife or harangue her, but no direct physical action is taken against the guilty male. The woman whose husband is unfaithful has little recourse except to chastise him verbally and, as one female informant said, "go out and do the same thing myself."

Adultery causes few open conflicts among the Mundurucú, but it is a chronic source of ill feeling. To a certain extent, latent hostility probably contributes to adultery. One of the more amusing episodes of our field trip was the plight of the trader-appointed, and thoroughly hated, chief Biboi, of the village of Cabituté. Biboi had two wives, one in Cabituté and the other in Cabruá. The

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but it is equally possible that the former reporter was correct and that the present composition of the men's house represents a change that took place after his visit. Proceeding from Martius's data on other aspects of Mundurucú social structure, if the men's house was the residence of bachelors and men in bride service in villages that were fundamentally patrilocal, the change to matrilocality would have kept the latter in the village. They would then have been faced with either permanent residence in the men's house or eventual removal to the dwelling of their wife, where they would be under the immediate aegis of the father-in-law and under the necessity of closer incorporation into the household economy and authority structure. Although the latter was a possible alternative, as any matrilocal society demonstrates, the former resolution of the problem would have eased the transition to matrilocality by making its acceptance less onerous to the male. Such easement is important, for, in contrast to the local exogamy of most matrilineal and matrilocal groups,[1] the Mundurucú male commonly comes from another village and does not have a nearby kingroup in which he exerts prerogatives and on whose members he can count for aid. At the time of the transition in residence patterns, the then prevalent system of localized or semilocalized clans undoubtedly was correlated with local exogamy, and it may be assumed that the bridegroom was commonly from another community. The young man caught in the process of change to matrilocality was thus forced to accommodate himself to permanent residence in a village in which he had no supporting group of kinsmen. This is the fate of the female in a patrilocal group, but, unlike the female, the male plays the main role in the structure of authority and policy in nearly all human societies. The fragmenta-

[1] Cf. Murdock, 1949, p. 214.

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tion of clan and lineage has made the social adjustment of 562
the Mundurucú most delicate, as will be seen presently, 591
but the problem of the integration of the male into a 621
household group far from his native village would have imposed a formidable obstacle to the change to matrilocality. It is possibly for this reason that a combination of patrilineality and matrilocality is most rare. The Mundurucú men's house provided a means to accommodate such a change and to make matrilocality more acceptable to a people who reckon their closest kinsmen patrilineally. The man who marries a woman of another village becomes integrated into the men's house, where he finds a large group of men of the same moiety and perhaps some fellow clansmen and natives of his own village. His relations with his new household are, in the beginning, tenuous.

The means by which the men accommodate themselves 476
to matrilocality may be seen in operation today. The earlier 591
discussion on marriage indicated that the male has great 621
mobility; if his affinal relatives trouble him, he may gather [562]
up his belongings and leave. But the organization of village life relieves him of many such pressures. He is expected to bring game and fish to his wife, and this constitutes his main responsibility in the household economy. After he turns over the food, the wife keeps a share for the general household larder and, if there is enough, distributes the rest to the women of the other houses in the village; the food is cooked, and the women of each house bring a portion to the men's house, whereupon the males partake of a communal meal. The provision of his wife with the day's kill is thus primarily a symbolic act, except when there is only enough to feed his wife's household or his nuclear family. Each family head has a garden, but the man clears the garden with the aid of all other village men, and his wife is joined in weeding and the harvest by

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476 the women of her household. Occasionally, two or more
591 men of the same household will plan a garden jointly, al-
621 though this is not normal procedure. In hunting, the man may join in a communal chase with all other men or with only a few of his choice, who may be from any household. In short, the bridegroom is expected to show respect, [606] erence, and a degree of obedience to his father-in-law, but there are few occasions on which the men of the house act as a unit under central direction. This extends even to the construction of the house, for each dwelling of a new village is erected by the collective labor of all residents.

The men are by no means completely dissociated from
591 the dwellings of their wives. The husbands frequently re-
593 lax there, visit their children, or take a snack of food. And,
621 as has been noted, the passage of years usually sees a consolidation of ties between man and wife and, concomitantly, with her household; it also sees the growth of the husband's prestige within the extended family unit. But most of the male's time is passed in the men's house, and the locus of his political and economic activity remains in its framework and not in that of the household. The relationship between men's house and dwelling will become clearer when the organization of the latter is discussed.

345 In the eksá lineal affiliations are recognized in the sleep-
513 ing arrangements. On each side of the men's house and
61 down its middle are horizontal poles, running the full length of the house five feet above the ground. These supports form the stays from which two rows of hammocks are hung. The men of the Red moiety always sleep in the south row, those of the White in the north. Individual clans have no fixed place in each row, for clan composition in each village is too variable. The oldest men always hang their hammocks in the rear of the shelter, where they gain

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hammocks and the middle is left open. The communal hearth that serves the entire household is in the latter section, and utensils and items of personal property are placed on platforms in the eaves or hung from the walls. A platform in one corner of the dwelling is usually reserved for the household food supply; there is only one larder, and all occupants draw freely from it. 542

Only females and pre-pubescent boys live in the dwelling house. Each nuclear family occupies a few adjoining hammocks; but for this, one would have to question to detect household biological affiliations, for the resident extended family leads a most communal existence. 592 594

Matriloculity, it has been said, has resulted in highly diverse clan affiliations among the occupants of the men's house. Despite the generational continuity of the females and the relative stability of their residence, the same is true of them also. Daughters tend to remain in the dwellings of their mothers among the contemporary Munduruci, and the extended family-household unit consists of a group of women related in the female line. Under the system of patrilineal descent, however, the daughters belong to the moieties and clans of their fathers and, therefore, to the moiety opposite that of their mother. The women of a household are related by firm ties of consanguinity, but according to the normal system of recognizing and classifying kinsmen, their relationship has no formal lineal status. This conflict does not prevent the women from placing their closest bonds of interdependence on their co-resident mothers, sisters, and daughters, as they are classified in the kinship system, but the perpetuation of patrilineality has thus far inhibited the development of a formal, named matrilineage in which descent for certain legal purposes is reckoned. A further attrition of patrilineal inheritance could well leave the way open for such a de- 592 591 611 611 591

THE LOCAL GROUP

591 611 velopment, followed by ultimate transition to matrilineality, or at least a matrilineal emphasis. But such changes need time, and the recent increase of bilocality and neolocality among the Munduruc6 have undercut the possibility for further evolution of any form of unilineal-descent system.

591 178 Matrilocality is less uniformly practiced now than in the recent past, mainly because of the present reduced population of village and household. The extended family has been correspondingly weakened and is frequently unable to keep the married daughter if the husband does not desire to live with his affinals. Or death may cause a girl to be left without close female relatives. She may then join women who are sisters and mothers to her in a classificatory sense, but toward whom her emotional ties are weaker, or she may join her husband's family. As the extended family of related women grows weaker, so also does matrilocality. But most marriages in the savannah communities follow the rule; the most common exceptions are unions in which the couple establishes its own residence at the man's rubber avenue.

5% 592 Although the Munduruc6 extended family is much smaller than in past times and is progressively giving way to the nuclear family, it continues as a fundamental unit in all phases of economic life. Private property in the [422] household consists only of personal items and tools, and the nuclear family has significance in the consumption economy, chiefly in the purchase of items from the trader. Garden products are shared by all members of the extended family, as are fish and game. The only exception to [224] this rule is when game is scarce, and the day's kill consists only of small animals or birds. On such occasions, the nuclear family of the hunter may consume the food, but it is just as frequently divided, albeit in small quantities, among the members of the house.

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brush. Boys of about twelve and more, who live in the men's house, have very loose ties with their households. Only a house-by-house census could accurately determine where each of these boys belongs, for they are bound only by ties of affection to the houses of their mothers.

Central to the relative independence of the boys as compared to the girls is the fact that male labor is not oriented about any household economy, and the boys take little part in adult male labor until they reach the age of fourteen or fifteen. A few years after this time, most marry and shift their household affiliation. Unlike the girl, the boy is not reared within the social unit in which he will take permanent membership, and strong ties and obligations to the extended family are not enforced upon him. And since the extended family has its core in a group of related and cooperating females, it is not expected that a boy will help in their work.

The nature of male work combines with the social structural factors to make the boys' life so carefree. Young boys cannot take part in the hunt nor can they cut trees for garden clearings. They are expected to help clear underbrush during the latter operation, but the performance of such duties occurs only during a limited period at the end of the rains. Otherwise, they prepare for their future roles as hunters and fishermen through play. They gather wild fruits for their own consumption and shoot little birds from blinds in the underbrush. Or a band of boys may spend a day wandering along the banks of a stream to shoot smaller species of fish with the bow and arrow. When the boy reaches about fourteen years of age, he has grown sufficiently in strength and skill to participate occasionally in a hunting or fishing trip, and within two or three years he joins the men in most of their activities. He is then old enough to marry and, if there is no girl in his own village

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as the single permissible occasion on which violence was condoned. Kluckhohn's[9] view is well founded that the sorcerer's practice and his execution are cathartic for him and the society, but it is still significant that aggression is released within the society and not outside. This would not disrupt a society that enjoyed other and stronger bases of solidarity, and it might well promote integration; but the result among the modern Munduruc\u00fa has been the intrusion of sorcery accusations into factional disputes and frequent failure to obtain agreement on executions. Thus, not only shamans but disaffected persons also leave village life.

Conflicts between persons and groups are not always connected with witchcraft. The Munduruc\u00fa men commonly engage in clandestine escapades with the wives of others. The injured husband does not court open conflict against the adulterer, however, and resentments are generally well contained. Another cause of hostility is the numerical and social strength of the chief's family and the question of the legitimacy of his succession. The only recourse left to dissident parties is to withdraw from the situation. They may go to another village, which was a common means of resolving the situation in the nineteenth century also, or they may move to permanent residence at their rubber avenue, which today happens more frequently. The choice of the latter alternative may end the tension, but the severance of social relations obviously disrupts integration, especially when it occurs frequently.

Social tensions commonly cause people to leave their villages. Concomitantly, there has been a progressive weakening of the bonds that hold them. The diminished size of the extended family has made the matrilocality on which it is based more vulnerable to situational factors

[9] Kluckhohn, 1944.

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that dictate other choices of residence. Most savannah marriages are still predominantly matrilocal, but there is a pronounced trend toward slackening of the rule and, perhaps, ultimate bilocality. The homogeneity of the group of related females has thereby been disturbed. Furthermore, the extended family in its reduced circumstances may include few or no true female siblings, but only matrilateral parallel cousins and more remote collaterals. The net effect of all these factors is to weaken the bonds of kinship and the household and to facilitate the separation of nuclear families or clusters of relatives.

The tightness of extended kinship ties has decreased. The nuclear family has gained greater importance because it is the consumption unit in the trade economy, and the extended family has correspondingly suffered. During the rubber season, the nuclear family is frequently the basic social and economic unit. Clanship has been preserved and continues to be a primary means by which the relations of the fireseason are structured. But the clans long ago lost most of their corporate rights and obligations with the disappearance of their residential nuclei. Clanship persisted after this loss through large-scale enterprises in which many villages participated and which afforded clansmen the opportunity to cooperate and associate. But these activities too have declined, and the significant group consistently interacting kinsmen is now restricted to the residents of individual villages. Relations between scattered clansmen are still maintained but seldom activated. Since a man usually has few, or no, clan fellows as village co-residents, the unity of descent groups is thereby weakened. It is seen, then, that in several respects the contradiction between descent and residence makes for fundamental instability in the social structure.

The most important force in the process of stripping the

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439 fathers are not separately dealt with, and the economic
648 importance of the nuclear family is thereby enhanced. As
797 soon as a young man reaches potential marriage age, however, he seeks out his own rubber avenue and thereafter trades on his own account. This can be contrasted to the savannahs where the young, unmarried men usually pool their production with that of their fathers.

182 The first rubber avenue worked by a youth is usually
361 an unoccupied one in the vicinity of that of his father, but
439 a shortage of available avenues nearby might cause him to seek farther afield. Upon marriage, the groom can settle near his father-in-law, according to the matrilocal rule,
• [591] but lack of a convenient avenue might cause him to remain patrilocal or to seek a new residence altogether. In short, the tendency toward permanent residence near one's rubber avenue, the high importance that the rubber-extraction industry has in the lives of the people of the Cururú, and the fact that each man trades for himself, release the young men of dependence on an extended family
[59] head and contributed to the breakdown of the extended
[47] family and matrilocality on the Cururú. This complements
[59] the previously described loss of cooperative patterns in the subsistence economy, with corresponding enhancement of the role of the nuclear family.

459 Finally, the people of the Cururú are more heavily en-
461 gaged in the rubber trade than the campineiros. In contrast to the four days per week and three months per year that the latter spend in actual rubber production, the average Cururú rubber tapper works five days a week and four to five months a year. Also, many Indians on the Cururú exploit two or three avenues. The longer time spent in rubber collecting means that the Indian must return to the rubber trees after planting his garden. This is difficult for the campineiro, because the avenues are far from the vil-

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clan, phratry, and moiety. In this way, the social system accommodated increased numbers through fission and the multiplication of similar component units.

Marriage in our earliest known condition of Munduruc society was regulated by the exogamous moieties. Preferential forms of marriage were with the cross-cousin or the sister's daughter. Agnatic groups relinquished rights to the offspring of their women and to the women themselves after imposition of bride service upon the groom. The groom, during this temporarily matrilocal period, was not integrated in the wife's lineage and household but remained an outsider who slept in the men's house with the village bachelors.

The establishment of peaceful relations with the whites and the growth of trade with them in horticultural commodities, it has been hypothesized, set in motion a far-reaching series of modifications in Munduruc social structure. The Munduruc were horticulturalists before their contact with the whites, and trade in manioc flour and other produce did not constitute a technological innovation, as such. It did, however, place a greater premium on female labor, especially the cooperative and organized work that goes into farinha manufacture. In terms of the operation of the system of production, it became more crucial that the female work group have continuity and retain those members that it had trained. This was accomplished through matrilocality, which not only insured this continuity but provided a productive unit bonded by the solidary ties of demonstrable consanguinity.

One might say at this point that increased horticulture "caused" matrilocality. Or one might phrase the same proposition to read that "the function of matrilocality was to provide a fully cooperative and integrated work group in farinha production." Anthropologists would tend to say

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the former because the history of a change to matrilocality accompanied by the production of a garden surplus is documented. If no such historical information were available, one would probably state the generalization in the latter terms. The statements are, however, the same. But the causality is not quite so simple and mechanistic, the functional relation not exactly one to one. It was stated earlier that so far as change takes place in a system of functionally interrelated parts, it correspondingly occurs in a field of plural determinants. In the present case, this is manifest in the fact that matrilocality could occur in a patrilineal society and in the peculiar kind of matrilocality that emerged.

Murdock has argued convincingly that a patrilineal and patrilocal society imposes great obstacles to the development of matrilocality.[3] He presents in illustration a model of such a group, but one in which the kin-territorial unit possesses corporate rights to land. Under these conditions, he reasons, it would be difficult to impose the relinquishment of such rights on the members of the units. I share Murdock's view, but it must be remembered that there were no institutions of private or corporate ownership of productive resources among the Mundurucú. The lineages no doubt were significant cooperative units in production, and collective units in consumption, and had important political functions; but their only corporate proprietary rights were of a ceremonial nature. The individual male was, therefore, not faced with estrangement from economic resources in which he had a vested interest, nor with the problem that matrilocality would impose in the passing of such rights to his sons.

Beyond the question of property ownership, other possible inhibitions to matrilocality may be discerned. The

[3] Murdock, 1949, pp. 210-212.

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structure of authority must have followed closely along lines of patrilineal kinship in patrilocal times. Under the new conditions, the man was not only assigned to permanent proximity to the father-in-law and his house, but was left with no unit in which he could exercise a political role. The Hopi man, for example, may move to his wife's household upon marriage, but he rarely moves out of the village; and he maintains an important position in his own lineage. But, on the other hand, the rule of matrilocality in a patrilineal society leaves a man without a lineage in which he may hold membership or play a political role. That the man had no important rights and duties in his natal household undoubtedly contributed to the persistence of intervillage marriages despite his consequent departure for a new locality. But this raised other problems, for life in a new village placed the man under different leadership and away from a solidary group of kinsmen. The situation was partly resolved by allowing the men to continue residence in the men's house beyond the normal period of bride service. Thus, young married men remained independent of the households of their wives during the early years of marriage and became more fully integrated into them after they had been married for several years. By this time, age and seniority allowed them to become significant figures in the extended family; they were no longer potentially at the mercy of the father-in-law. Matrilocality did not bring the man into another patrilineage under the new circumstances, because the father-in-law was also an outsider. The man's ultimate increased participation in the life of the household was correspondingly eased.

That Mundurucú society gave all members free access to natural resources and had a preëxistent men's-house organization are important to an understanding of the change in residence rules. The two factors were struc-

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182 turally compatible with matrilocality, and their absence
• 591 may well have caused the Munduruc\u00fa to adapt to in-
611 creased manioc production in some other way. And so far as they were necessary preconditions for matrilocality in a patrilineal society, we may also say that they were causes.

The determining role of the social structure on social change is clearly seen in the kind of matrilocality practiced and in the resultant social units. The Munduruc\u00fa certainly do not have the usual type of matrilocality. Indeed, a possible source of social friction is resolved by allowing the men to live in their own dwelling, apart from the extended families of related females.* Munduruc\u00fa "patrilineality" no longer refers to the type of descent groups characteristic of the old society or to the kind of unit to which the taxonomic category is generally applied. The society lost its patrilineages, except for those of the chiefs, and descent groupings, in general, were shorn of most of their solidary features. Clanship no longer implied cooperating, interacting groups of people, although it has remained important for some time in the ordering of kinship-ascribed role behavior.

[614]

The impact of the change was felt throughout the social
182 structure. The cult of the spirits of the clan ancestors be-
794 came a village-centered ritual, and villagers, not clansmen, were seen to have reciprocal relations with these supernaturals. The primary remaining function of the whole sacred-trumpet complex has become the maintenance of male ascendancy in villages whose hereditary inhabitants are women. The protection and benevolence of the trum-

*It has been suggested that I use the term duolocality to describe Munduruc\u00fa residence. Although more exactly descriptive, I have chosen not to use this term because it may obscure the basic fact that this society maintains the integrity of a core of related females.

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pet spirits are still sought, but there is common confusion about the exact meaning and role of the supernaturals.

The change in residence patterns must have had a great effect on the whole system of behavior expected between various categories of kinsmen. Lack of data makes it impossible to reconstruct the social system under patrilocality in any detail, but since the transformation surrounded each role player with a totally different array of complementary roles, one may infer that modifications occurred in nearly all aspects of social relations. It is known, however, that cross-cousin and sister's-daughter marriages were formerly preferred, although matrilocality has resulted in the absolute taboo of the latter union. The Munduruců still express a verbal preference for the cross-cousin marriage, but the infrequency of its occurrence suggests that loss of lineages has robbed it of its primary function as a means of solidifying ties between kin groups.

One of the most interesting features of Munduruců matrilocality is the inability of the resultant social system to accommodate the open expression of conflict. The previous situation in this regard is not known, but if anthropological findings among other patrilineal and patrilocal peoples can be extended to the Munduruců, one might expect that conflict need not be disruptive and might actually contribute to the maintenance of the social system. Cross-cutting bonds based on residence and descent, the non-equivalence of kin and local groups, however, prevent the development of open factions, because factional conflict would entangle the individual in conflicting loyalties. Segments of the society are not able to gain internal solidarity and to define their boundaries through opposition to other segments, except by the destruction of other modes of group organization. This lack of what has been called internal "structural opposition" is partly responsible for the

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182 weak corporate character of descent and local groups. The
578 dispersal of male patrilineal kinsmen also attenuates and
591 weakens ties of relationship, and the men's house results in a rather marginal membership in the extended family. There is potential disruption through conflict of roles, but the loyalties imposed by the roles are somewhat weakened, and the danger to social integration accordingly mitigated.

The incongruity of descent and residence makes for a
182 most unstable social system, and one may well ask how it persisted from the mid-nineteenth century to the present. In part, of course, it may be answered that persistence has not been perfect. The clans are becoming vestigial, and unilocal residence is now weakening. Moreover, increasing numbers of people are leaving the traditional savannah villages. But the fact remains that the Munduruců still exist as a social entity after a period of contact that witnessed the virtual extinction or absorption of nearly all tribes of the region.

174 It might be argued that the weakness and instability of
182 the patrilineal and matrilocal social structure was, paradoxically, a source of its strength during the contact period. The accumulated aggressions generated, and repressed, in the social system were released in the continued pursuit of the traditional institution of warfare. Lacking any strong modes of internal segmentation, social integration was obtained by the opposition of the entire tribe against the outside world. This outward direction of antagonism functioned to demarcate rigidly the boundaries of the social system, and to provide a framework of common endeavor. The cross-cutting ties of residence and descent were the basis of a highly developed sense of tribalism among the Munduruců males and facilitated the recruitment of war parties from a number of villages. This martial disposition and effectiveness of the Munduruců

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primary function is in mediating the dictates of the market to the Indians in a personalized and understandable idiom.

The external market cannot be taken as a constant factor in this study, for it is subject to the fluctuations and movements that characterize the history of capitalism. The returns that it offers are variable, and the inducement of the Indians to produce for it varies somewhat. But, more important, different commodities have been sought in the Amazon at different periods, and the form of labor that has gone into their production has accordingly changed. This has impinged not only on the division and organization of labor, but has altered fundamental residence rules, transformed the framework of every-day social relationships, and changed in size and constitution the basic groupings of the society. Mundurucú society underwent one such major modification in the transition from patrilocality to matrilocality. And it is now undergoing a second in the destruction of unilocal residence and the fragmentation of larger village and familial units. Murdock* is fully corroborated in his observation that social organizations are most easily modified through a modification of the rule of residence—as he is in so many of his comments on relevant factors in social change. The rule of residence, in turn, varies with the productive relations in the ecological adaptation. It is in this way that the form of social groups is conditioned by their functions as units of production and consumption.

The transformations of the Mundurucú social system can best be understood in terms of its structured relations with other social systems and the immediate means, technical and social, by which selected resources are exploited. That these factors have a broader relevance can be best

* Ibid., pp. 316–318.

the chieftaincy. It is common practice to select one or two possible heirs and groom them in his household; this is what happened to Bilel. This is agreeable to the chief, for he gains the favor of the trader and, with it, preferential treatment in sales and purchases. It is clearly beneficial to the trader, as he hopes thereby to install a chief who will be responsive to his wishes, even at the expense of the Nankansi villagers.

The contemporary Nankansi chief is in a dilemma. If we look upon a boundary role as one in which both ends have to be played against the middle, we see the chief caught between the interests of the trader and those of his followers; these interests rarely coincide. It is a difficult position, but one that can be maintained by mutual adherence to the traditional behavior expected of chiefs and minimal responsiveness to the demands of the traders. Bilel's father, Gantaan, played a comparatively successful role. If the trader told him that the villagers were heavily in debt to him, Gantaan would communicate this fact and suggest that it would be well to collect more rubber; he never attempted even verbal coercion. He also sincerely sought to obtain the maximum return for his people.

Gantaan embodied many characteristics of the traditional chief. As elder man, he carried himself with a modest and unassuming dignity. He guided, persuaded and cajoled, but he carefully refrained from ordering people, and all decisions of communal significance were made in consultation with the mature men of the village. Beyond this, Gantaan knew Nankansi traditional knowledge and lore and attempted to perpetuate it.

Bilel's position was very different from that of his father, for he was the prototype of the Dagbon boy who had been "educated" by a trader and later installed as a chief. He had no legitimate claim to the position, and it was necessary for the trader to insist that he would recognize only Bilel in dealings with Gantaan. The residents grudgingly accepted, but they regarded him as chief only in trade relations. The most influential man of the village was, in reality, a recruited dyamse who was the son of the last chief and was considered the legitimate heir to the office.

Bilel's precarious situation was made worse by the fact that he was under thirty years old and the junior of many men in the village. To compliment matters, he had no supporting group of kinsmen in Gambaka. Patrilocality, I have said, is the normal mode of residence among the Nankansi, but the sons of chiefs generally remain with their fathers after marriage. From the point of view of conscious motivation, the sons of chiefs remain patrilocal because their fathers are influential enough to persuade men to relinquish their daughters to them as a means of solidifying relations with them. By the same line of reasoning, a young man who marries the daughter of a chief is willing to join a prestigeful father-in-law. But from the point of view of social structure, the function of the patrilineality of the chief's family is twofold. By keeping the sons, the chief is able to transmit authority to them without the discontinuity that would result if they were resident in the villages of their wives. Moreover, the chief is surrounded by a group of patrilineally related kin, a small and solidary patrilineage. His position is further enhanced by the fact that he has sons-in-law within the village. Such as this may reinforce his prestige, it does not enable him to exercise unilateral authority, for the rest of the

/31 cont./

241 time of planting onward. In terms of their basic meaning, these
192 two words could be translated as follows: kat as "clearing" and ko
462 as "planting." It thus becomes clearer why the woman would never say, for instance, that she is going to the kat, to the clearing, because it is not she who does clear-cut /would say/ that she is going to the ko, the planting, because it is she, in fact, who does the planting. The opposite applies to the man. If, however, there is need for the use of a general, impersonal term, the man will also use the word ko, but with the respective modifier of it being "hers" or "the woman's," so that no misunderstanding may arise.

2. Garden and family: agricultural property and mutual assistance

241 It is plain that this complex of agricultural manners is reflected
621 in the family life of the Indians, not only for the Munduruká who still live communally in the old village system, but also for those
[178] who have broken away from this way of life and set up a separate
[591] nucleus with their family, living an isolated life with their own house and garden. Indeed, nowadays, it is necessary to make a distinction:

[162] 1. Between the Munduruká Indians of the interior, numbering 250, a minority of approximately one-fifth of the total of 1,200, who still live according to the traditional system of tribal communities or villages;

[177] 2. Between the Munduruká who are already more or less acculturated /and live/ on the Tapajós, Cururú, Tropas, etc., rivers.

241 /22/ Within the first group, in the interior, we find more or
476 less the primitive or traditional form of the Munduruká agricultural
621 system: a system of collective labor based on mutual assistance. Murphy indicates the present conditions in the villages of the interior when he says: "Every adult /Munduruká/ of the plains of the male sex has his own plot which is cleared by the collective effort of all the men in the village and which is planted with manioc roots with the cooperation of the entire village." (11) This cooperative labor

11. Murphy, 1954: 28.